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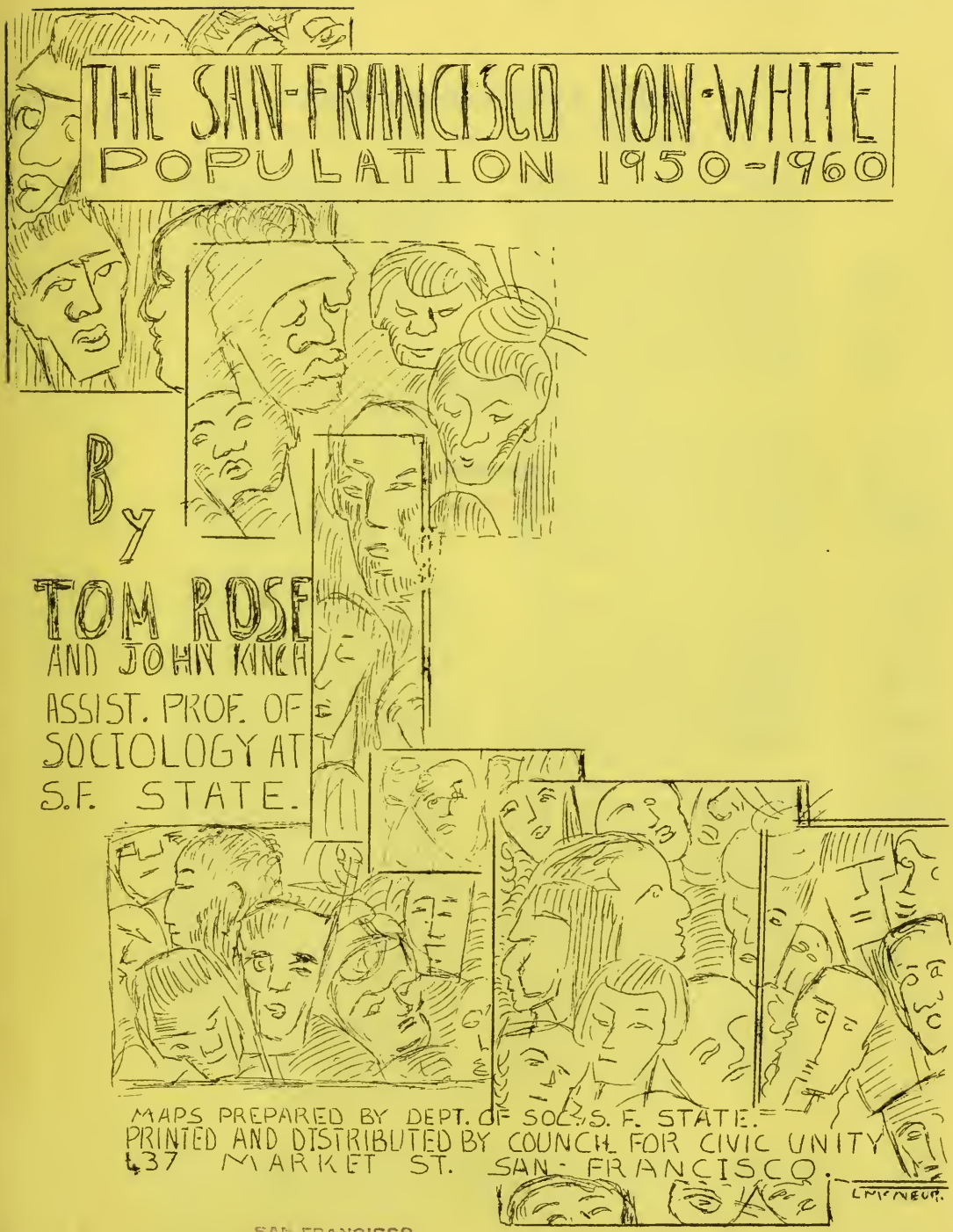
THE SAN-FRANCISCO NON-WHITE POPULATION 1950-1960



By

TOM ROSE
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MAPS PREPARED BY DEPT. OF SOC. S. F. STATE.
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REFERENCE

Race and the City's Future

by Frank Quinn, Executive Director, Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco

Will San Francisco follow what has become a classic pattern for other Northern metropolitan regions? A central city, with a high proportion of nonwhite residents, ringed in by white suburbs?

Census figures just released show that the Bay Area is already well on its way down this trail.

PERCENTAGE OF NONWHITE

	1950	*1960*
San Francisco	10.5	18.4
Oakland	14.5	26.4
Berkeley	15.4	26.1
Richmond	14.3	21.9
Pittsburg	7.8	21.1
Marin County	2.0	3.9
San Mateo County	1.9	4.3
Contra Costa County (exclusive of Richmond and Pittsburg)	5.4	3.0

According to newspaper reports, San Francisco's Director of Public Health has stated that from his preliminary review of the 1960 census the makeup of the city's population in 20 years could resemble that of Washington, D. C., which is 70 per cent colored.

What are the consequences of sharp racial differences between urban center and suburb? We have only to look at Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, and New York for an answer.

Nonwhites—primarily Negroes—have had to overcrowd in the oldest neighborhoods. With high profits to landlords, new slums have developed rapidly; schools and public housing have become segregated, not by legislative fiat, but by residential composition. Social tensions have risen; lack of normal contact between persons of different races breeds prejudice and misunderstanding. Political questions have become racial issues to the detriment of the whole community; city-suburb cleavages have deepened. Following the whites to their suburban retreats, businesses and industries have moved from downtown locations leaving them barren soil for honky-tonk developments. City tax sources have depleted while welfare and service costs have expanded to meet the needs of large numbers of low-income families. Cultural life has suffered and the cities have lost some of their charm and attraction for visitors.

While the main causes of the white drift to suburbs are the attractions of new housing and escape from aging streets, racial prejudices aggravate the exodus.

Residential segregation is wanted by few people—white or colored—yet it is on the gain. Why?

Nonwhite population increases in cities have resulted largely from migrations from an agitated South. Being younger families, they have high birth rates and low death rates. (San Francisco had these birth rates in 1959: white, 15.2; Negro, 44.0; Chinese, 27.4; Japanese, 31.2; other races, 71.1. Death rates were: white, 12.78; Negro, 8.32; Chinese, 6.67.)

The metropolis has always hosted groups of migrants from other lands or the nation's rural regions. The normal course of events has been for migrants to live in certain districts with individuals gradually fragmenting off into the larger middle-class society. The assimilation process is now blocked because of the high visibility of the more recent newcomers—their color.

The housing market of both city and suburb is not open to nonwhites. In a survey made by the Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco, not one of 62 realtors interviewed would handle the sale of the first Negro family in an all-white neighborhood—despite that family's financial and social qualifications. Home builders and lenders gave the same answer. In trying to locate rentals for nonwhite families, CCU called or visited hundreds of landlords. With few exceptions, apartments were available only in designated minority neighborhoods. People of Oriental ancestry find housing easier than do Negroes—but all nonwhites must expect to pay more for their

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home or apartment than white San Franciscans. Some Negro and Oriental families have managed to move throughout the city, but census tract figures reveal higher nonwhite concentrations than at any time in San Francisco's history.

In a CCU study on employment practices, racial discrimination was found to be the norm in all jobs but those on the lowest level of skill.

Barriers erected on the two main paths of assimilation, employment and housing, are then at the root of high residential concentrations.

This was clearly indicated by the experience of the Redevelopment Agency in relocating some 3,000 people from the first Western Addition clearance site. Sixty per cent were Negroes, twenty per cent were other nonwhites; most went into public housing or the blocks immediately around the razed area. These are the very blocks now being considered for a second Redevelopment Agency project. The original neighborhood had been integrated, but the net result of redevelopment there was to cause the compacting of Negroes together while the new building on the site will become essentially all-white because of high rentals which few Negroes can afford. The first Western Addition project was impeded by racial discrimination. It may well be that a second project cannot be accomplished because there will not be enough housing available for the large number of Negro families to be displaced. Legislative threats are also posed by Assemblymen who recognize the harmful effects wrought on minorities and low-income families by redevelopment projects throughout the State. Some of the legislative proposals now in Sacramento might serve to derail permanently any future redevelopment projects, leaving cities without an effective means of rejuvenation.

What can be done to reverse the trend toward segregation?

The answer lies in equal opportunity in employment and housing for all people without regard to their race, color, creed, or national ancestry.

How can we reach this lofty—but crucial—goal?

California now has a Fair Employment Practices Commission to administer a non-discrimination law. Rather than wait until a complaint is lodged, business and union executives should change their employment and membership practices now to meet the spirit, not merely the letter, of California's public policy and law. There are a number of organizations to advise and help on employment by merit—the FEPC, Bay Area Urban League, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Japanese-American Citizens' League, CCU.

Bills on discrimination in housing are now in legislative hoppers of Sacramento. Most important is Assembly Bill 801 which would establish a law, to be administered by the FEPC, prohibiting discrimination in all rental and sale housing *except* that occupied by the owner. San Franciscans should study AB 801 carefully and advise their Assemblymen, State Senators and the Governor.

Proper city planning can frustrate segregated neighborhoods. If homes and streets are fixed up with the help of urban rehabilitation programs, integrated neighborhoods can be maintained; a strong factor in the move-out of whites is the physical quality of their blocks not just the move-in of nonwhites. CCU has recommended that the next Western Addition redevelopment project not proceed until new private housing to meet the needs of the low-moderate income families to be displaced can be constructed there. This would assure a continued balance in San Francisco's population—economically, culturally and racially.

CCU has a Housing Opportunities Program to help nonwhite families find rentals and sales in neighborhoods and suburbs now restricted. In cooperating with this free service by listing your apartment or home, you will widen the range of choices for qualified minority families and thus take a direct step for an open housing market.

San Francisco need not go down the skids leading to an extreme racial schism. Our patterns are not yet so rigid that they cannot be reversed. We have a Golden Opportunity—to ignore it would be to sell short the city's future for all of its citizens. Let's get to work!

Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco

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For equality of right and opportunity without regard to race, religion, or ancestry

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Dear Friend:

Enclosed is your copy of "The San Francisco Non-White Population: 1950-1960" by Tom Rose, an undergraduate student at San Francisco State College, and John Kinch, Assistant Professor of Sociology at State.

A full appreciation of the dramatic changes which have occurred in the last decade for San Francisco's non-white population cannot be attained without knowledge of changes in other Bay Area cities and suburbs. For this reason, we are enclosing a copy of "Race and the City's Future", reprinted from THE SAN FRANCISCAN magazine of the San Francisco Junior Chamber of Commerce.

TOTAL POPULATION & POPULATION BY RACE*
(San Francisco - Oakland Metropolitan Area)

	Total Population	Negro		White		Other Races	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
All Counties	2,783,359	238,754	8.6	2,436,678	87.5	107,927	3.9
Alameda	908,209	111,420	12.3	768,996	84.6	27,793	3.1
Contra Costa	409,030	25,294	6.2	378,888	92.6	4,848	1.2
Marin	146,820	4,070	2.8	141,302	96.2	1,448	1.0
San Francisco	740,316	74,383	10.0	604,403	81.6	61,530	8.4
San Mateo	444,387	10,846	2.4	425,226	95.7	8,315	1.9
Solano	134,597	12,741	9.5	117,863	87.5	3,993	3.0

It must be kept in mind that the non-white population in counties such as Marin, San Mateo, Solano and Contra Costa is concentrated in cities, well defined areas, government institutions, and military installations, e.g. Marin City, San Quentin Prison, East Menlo Park, Fairfield-Suisun air base, etc.

We hope that you will find this information of value. We would appreciate any information or thoughts which you may have about the changes indicated in this data.

Sincerely,

Frank Quinn

Frank Quinn
Executive Director

*Prepared by FAR WEST SURVEYS.

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FOREWORD

Concern with the distribution of the population in a city such as San Francisco is of interest to a variety of persons. This report is directed towards an understanding of the distribution of the non-white population. The current concern with segregation, civil rights, discrimination and so on makes data presented here of special interest. The authors will not attempt to make any judgements as to whether the present distribution of non-whites in San Francisco, or its change since 1950 is good or bad. However, we do feel that whatever the issues may be their best resolution will be based on a clear understanding of the information that is available. The report is designed to communicate to the reader something of what the United States Census data for 1950 and 1960 says about this particular area of concern. The few comments that accompany the maps and table are meant to aid the reader in understanding the data.

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THE SAN FRANCISCO NON-WHITE POPULATION 1950-1960

by

Tom Rose and John W. Kinch

It is well known that in the last several decades the non-white population of the great metropolitan areas of the United States has been increasing more rapidly than the white population. With continued Negro migration from the South, the greater rate of natural increase among non-whites, and the exodus of whites to the suburban areas, the non-white population should continue to increase in the cities. With these changes in the racial composition of these areas a great variety of problems have emerged. There is a great deal of talk about integration, discrimination, equality, etc. People begin to take sides on what they feel are the issues. Far too often these sides have been taken and issues resolved on the basis of someone's hunch as to what things are like in one phase or another.

The participants in the many issues that have emerged, relative to race, have been more concerned with winning the argument than knowing whether or not the issue was pertinent. It makes little sense to argue in favor of or against the present housing situation if one does not know what that situation is.

The present report is an attempt to present some statistical data pertaining to the distribution of the non-white population in San Francisco. It is hoped that the information contained in these pages will be of value to those persons interested in this area. The data are those collected[1] by the United States Bureau of the Census in their regular decennial census.

THE DATA

The data are presented here in two forms. First, a series of maps show the distribution of (1) non-white, (2) Negro, and (3) non-white except Negro for both 1950 and 1960. In addition a map (Number 7) is provided which locates the census tracts in order that the reader may get the optimum use from the data. These maps are followed by a statistical Table show-

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Bulletin P-D49, 1950 United States Census of Population, U.S. Department of Commerce, and Advance table PH1 1960 United States Census of Population U.S. Department of Commerce.

ing the actual percentages in each census tract and the total number of inhabitants in each.

The six maps, showing percentage categories by census tracts, affords an overview of the city giving a picture of how these three characteristics are distributed. A comparison of the 1950 maps with those for 1960 provides a quick idea of what changes have taken place in the past ten years.

Although these maps presented as they are are valuable in the picture they convey, they have certain disadvantages which should be kept in mind. First, since the picture map requires that the percentage be classified in discrete categories (under 1%, 1.0-4.9%, etc.) we find that on occasion a change is over-looked because the difference between the 1950 and 1960 figure does not move from one category to another. For example, if in a particular tract there were 25.8% non-white in 1950 and in 1960 there were 48.2% the map would look the same for both years (both would fall into the category 25%-49.9%).

Another disadvantage has to do with the distribution within the tract. The census tract is described as a relatively homogeneous unit used for the collection and analysis of certain population characteristics. Although in most cases this relative homogeneity is obtained there are occasions when parts of a tract are quite dissimilar from other parts of the same tract. For example, we might have a tract which showed 50% non-white from which we would assume a nearly integrated community. However, we have no assurance that the distribution within the tract is completely segregated with the whites all living at one end and all the non-whites at the other. These disadvantages, are however, not so frequent as to have a great deal of effect. The following quote from the U.S. Census report will clarify the definitions of the categories we are dealing with: "Three major race categories are distinguished in this bulletin, namely, white, Negro, and other races. Negro and other races taken together comprise the category 'Non-white.' Persons of Mexican birth or ancestry who were not definitely Indian or of other non-white races were classified as white. Included as Negro are persons of mixed white and Negro parentage and persons of mixed Indian and Negro parentage unless the Indian blood very definitely predominates or the individual is accepted in the community as an Indian. All other non-white races are classified in the residual category 'Other races' in this report."

In the present study the other races category is made up of Chinese (36,445 in 1960), Filipinos (12,327 in 1960), Japanese (9464 in 1960), American Indians (1,068 in 1960) plus a small number of Puerto Ricans, Polynesians, Koreans, Asiatic Indians, etc. (2,226 in 1960).

WHAT DOES THE DATA SHOW?

I. OVER-ALL CHANGE

If one looks first at the data for San Francisco several interesting facts are evident. First, the total population has decreased some 4.5 percent since 1950. The 1960 United States census showed that this was quite common for large urban areas. But what makes up this change? At the same time that the over-all population of San Francisco was losing some 35,000 persons the non-white population for the city jumped from 81,469 in 1950 to 135,913 in 1960; an increase of 54,444 or 66.8 percent. (Negroes increased from 43,502 to 74,383, or 70.7 percent, and the other non-whites increased from 37,967 to 61,530 or 61.7 percent). This means that the white population in the city over the past ten years has decreased nearly 90,000 (12.9 percent). How can this be accounted for? What explanation is there for a change from a city in 1950 with a little over one-tenth non-white, to a city with almost twice that much (18.4 percent) in 1960? Authorities suggest at least three explanations for these changes. First, differential birth rates favor these changes. The San Francisco Health department reports that in 1960 29 percent of all births in San Francisco were non-white, 17 percent being Negro. Compare this with the fact that only 18.4 percent of the population are non-white (10.5 percent Negro). Second, there has been a considerable South to North migration of Negroes. Increasing white antagonism following attempts to enforce integration in the South has provided a push, while the larger and more firmly established Negro communities in the Northern cities provide a more alluring pull. The third factor explaining these changes is the suburban movement of the whites into areas that are off limits for the non-whites. With the exception of the three adjacent cities of Oakland, Berkeley and Richmond, which have 83,618, 21,850, and 14,388 Negroes respectively, the Negro is all but non-existent in the residential suburbs of San Francisco.

WHAT DOES THE DATA SHOW?

II. THE TRACT DATA

There is an almost indefinite number of comments one could make about the data presented in this report. We will attempt only a few which are felt to be of extreme interest or importance.

First, it is important to note three factors which are not apparent in the data that could lead to mistaken conclusions. (1) Some tracts include military establishments (C-1, F-1, K-5, R-1), which are likely to reflect military policy rather than anything else. (2) In others, Federal Housing Projects for low income family attract high proportions of non-whites (A-1-7-11, J-7, L-1-5A, M-10). (3) A large Urban Renewal Project, the Western

Addition, (J-1-6-7-8-9) was underway while the 1960 census was being taken and has had the effect of moving the occupant of the poor housing that was condemned and destroyed into nearby over-crowded areas.

Having considered these factors we find that San Francisco in 1960 has four rather well defined racial districts. The district known as Chinatown is well known throuthout the world. Chinatown is contained for the most part by three tracts, A-13-14-15, which are nearly 100 percent Chinese.

The other three districts are Negro. The first is know as the Fillmore district and is predominantly a lower class area around the Western addition (J-1 through J-14), which by 1960 had a majority of Negroes. This is a typical slum area similar to those found in most large cities with old, run-down and over-crowded housing and high incidents of crime and delinquency. The recent migrant to San Francisco usually starts out in this area.

The third district is relatively new. The Ingleside district (O-8A-8B-9) is a higher class Negro district with primarily single dwelling units. Although this district is not so well defined as the other two the trend seems to be in the direction of another all-non-white community.

The fourth district, Hunter's Point, can be explained to some extent by the low cost government housing in that area. However, it is important to note that the Negro residents of that area are not limited to the housing project and seem to be moving steadily into all the nearby tracts.

Other changes outside these districts are of interest. There is a considerable increase of non-whites, other than Negroes into the area between the Presidio and Golden Gate Park. Negroes are moving into areas to the West and to the South of the Fillmore District. With a few exceptions the non-white population has increased throughout the city.

Those few exceptions are worth considering. In 1960 only four census tracts still have less than one percent non-white. Without exception these are the exclusive residential districts of San Francisco.

One of the most interesting findings is revealed by comparing the Negro population (Map 4) with the non-whites, except Negroes (Map 6) for 1960. In those census tracts in the downtown portion of the city (all the tracts from A1 to A23) we find very few Negroes. At the same time most of the tracts have a very large number of non-whites, other than Negroes. Most of these tracts are in low rent, multiple-dwelling areas which, economically, would be suited for both the Negroes and other non-whites. The explanation for these findings must come from factors other than economics.

In summary, the data seem to indicate that the non-white population in the city of San Francisco has become more dispersed since 1950 in the sense that there are in 1960 fewer census tracts with less than 1 per cent non-white. However, in another sense the city has become more concentrated. There are more areas that are predominantly non-white with an indication that the general trend is in this direction.

MAP 1

NON-WHITE POPULATION

SAN FRANCISCO

1950

LEGEND

PERCENTAGE BY CENSUS TRACT

UNDER 1	5.0 - 9.9	25.0 - 49.9	75.0 - 100.0
1.0 - 4.9	10.0 - 24.9	50.0 - 74.9	

MAP 2

NON-WHITE POPULATION

SAN FRANCISCO

1960

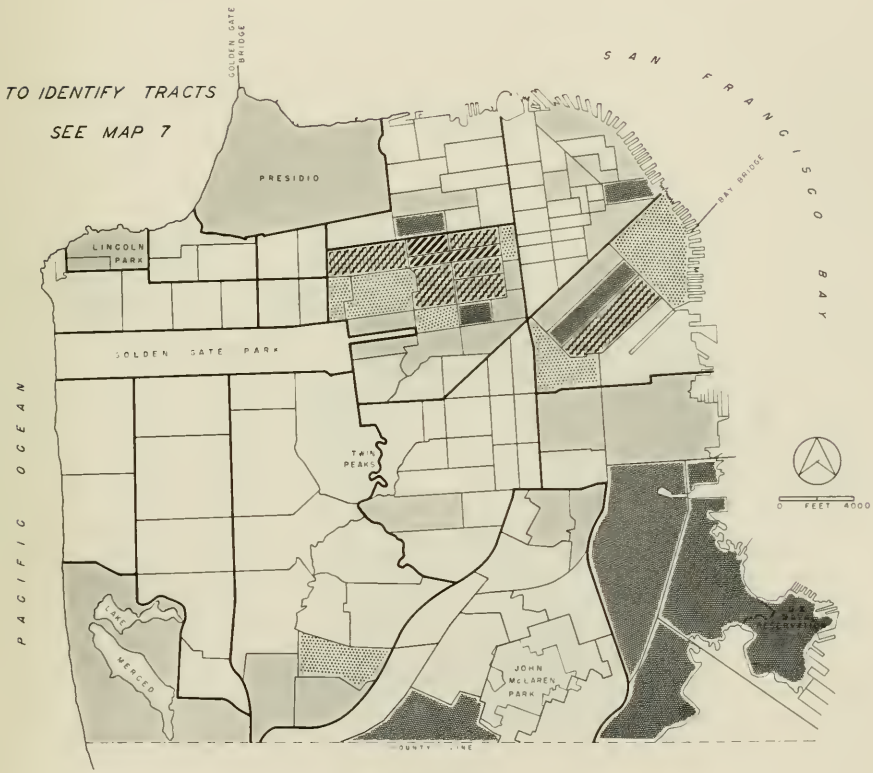
LEGEND

PERCENTAGE BY CENSUS TRACT

- UNDER 1
- 1.0-4.9
- 5.0 - 9.9
- 10.0 - 24.9
- 25.0 - 49.9
- 50.0 - 74.9
- 75.0 - 100.0

MAP 3

NEGRO POPULATION
SAN FRANCISCO
1950



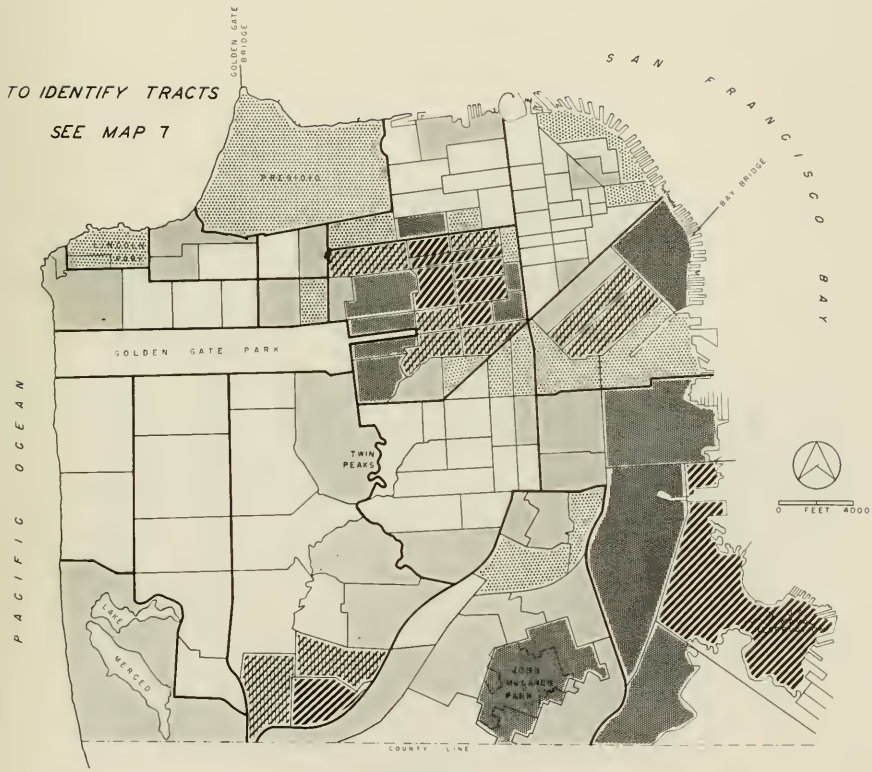
LEGEND

PERCENTAGE BY CENSUS TRACT

UNDER 1	5.0 - 9.9	25.0 - 49.9	75.0 - 100.0
1.0-4.9	10.0 - 24.9	50.0 - 74.9	

MAP 4

NEGRO POPULATION
SAN FRANCISCO
1960



LEGEND

PERCENTAGE BY CENSUS TRACT

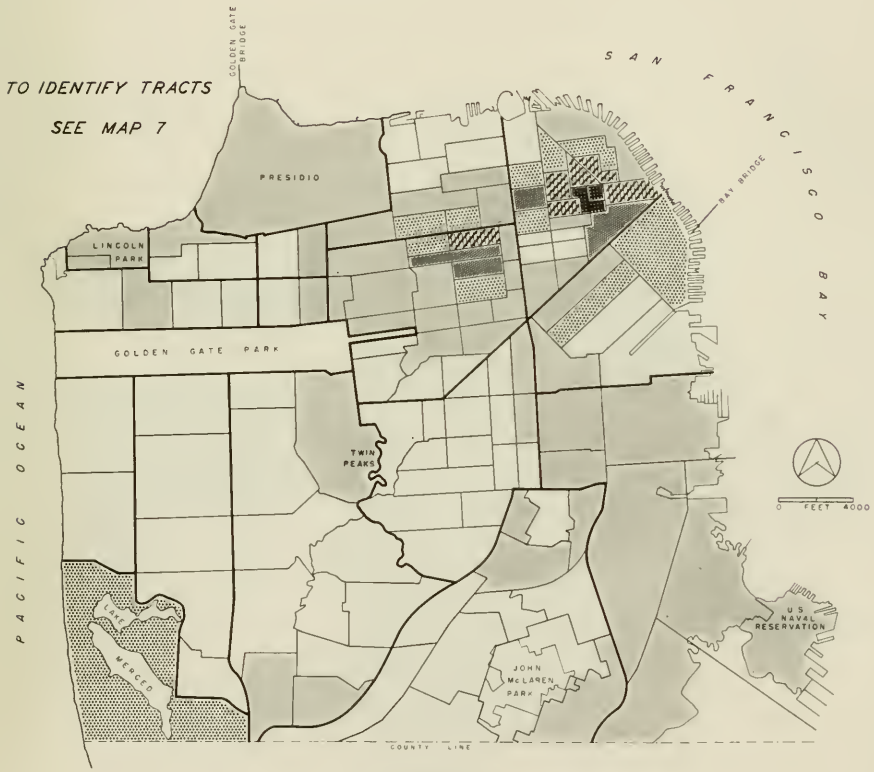
- UNDER 1
- 1.0-4.9
- 5.0 - 9.9
- 10.0 - 24.9
- 25.0 - 49.9
- 50.0 - 74.9
- 75.0 - 100.0

MAP 5

NON-WHITE POPULATION EXCEPT NEGRO

SAN FRANCISCO

1950



LEGEND

PERCENTAGE BY CENSUS TRACT

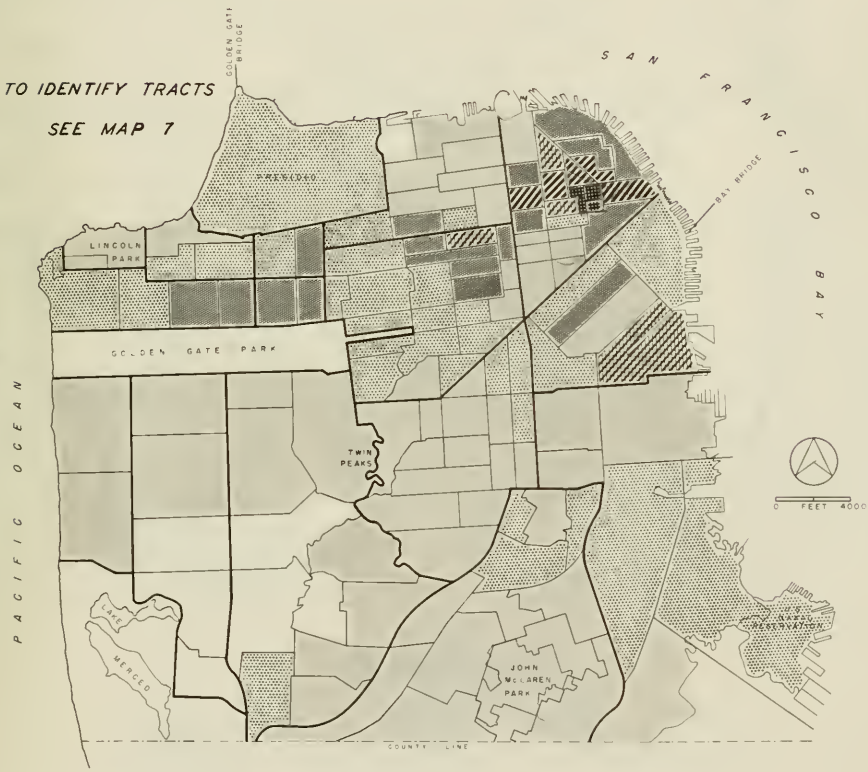
UNDER 1 | 1.0-4.9 | 5.0 - 9.9 | 10.0 - 24.9 | 25.0 - 49.9 | 50.0 - 74.9 | 75.0 - 100.0

MAP 6

NON-WHITE POPULATION, EXCEPT NEGRO

SAN FRANCISCO

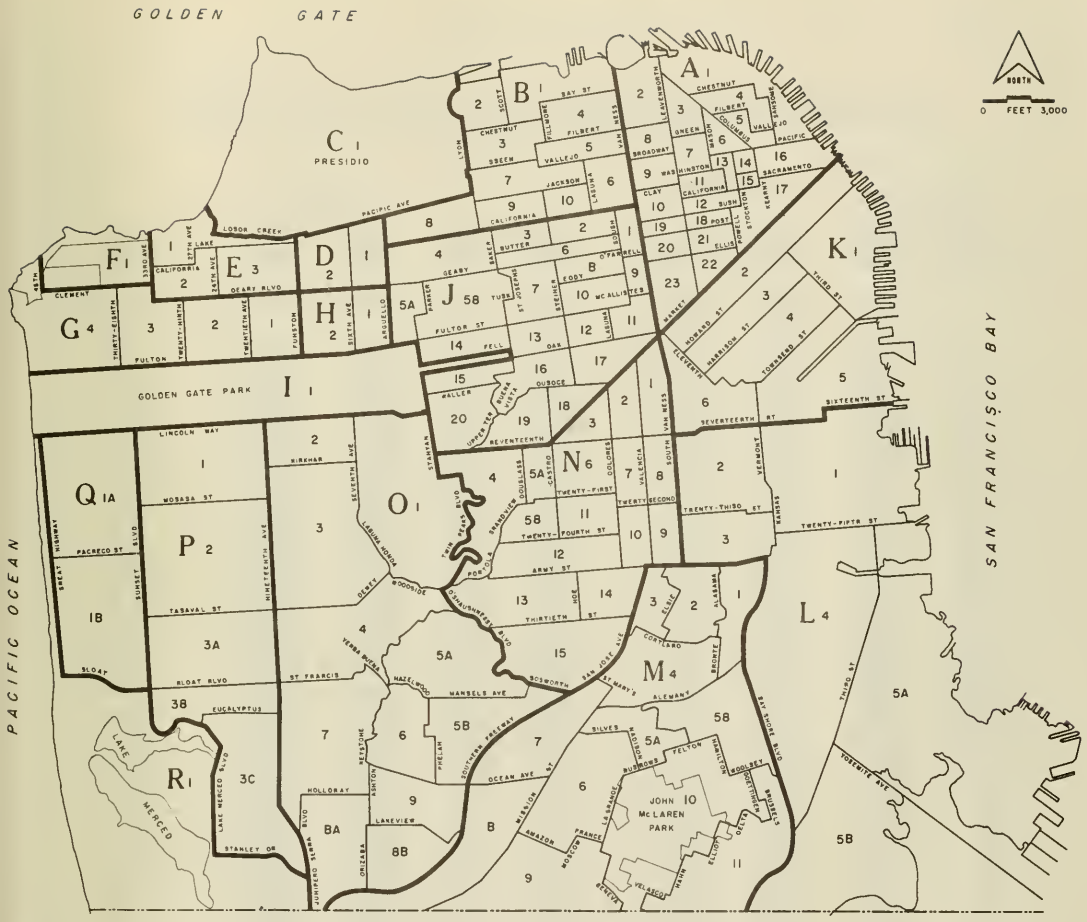
1960



LEGEND

PERCENTAGE BY CENSUS TRACT

- UNDER 1
- 1.0 - 4.9
- 5.0 - 9.9
- 10.0 - 24.9
- 25.0 - 49.9
- 50.0 - 74.9
- 75.0 - 100.0



MAP 7

1960 CENSUS TRACTS

SAN FRANCISCO

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF NON-WHITE POPULATION BY CENSUS TRACTS
SAN FRANCISCO: 1950 1960

Tracts	Total population 1950	Total population 1960	Non-white 1950	Non-white 1960	Percentages Negro 1950	Percentages Negro 1960	Non-white, except Negro 1950	Non-white, except Negro 1960
The City	775,357	740,316	10.5	18.4	5.6	10.0	4.8	8.3
A-1	2,148	2,606	6.1	25.2	2.9	9.2	3.2	15.9
A-2	4,621	4,218	1.5	1.7	0.6	0.4	0.9	1.3
A-3	4,892	4,825	6.8	26.5	0.2	0.1	6.5	26.4
A-4	5,571	5,368	8.3	21.6	0.1	0.2	8.1	21.4
A-5	4,775	4,528	39.4	59.3	1.8	1.4	37.5	57.9
A-6	4,547	4,559	46.5	64.7	2.2	1.9	44.2	62.7
A-7	5,716	5,617	47.0	66.3	1.1	0.4	45.9	65.9
A-8	5,106	4,837	8.3	21.6	0.6	0.0	7.6	21.6
A-9	5,647	5,211	23.7	54.6	0.8	0.3	22.8	54.3
A-10	5,209	5,176	7.9	22.0	0.2	0.1	7.6	21.8
A-11	3,934	3,646	33.2	41.0	0.8	0.1	32.4	40.9
A-12	5,940	5,004	4.2	9.0	0.3	0.0	3.9	9.0
A-13	4,261	3,641	81.9	82.2	0.2	0.0	81.7	82.1
A-14	4,264	3,619	98.6	99.5	0.4	0.0	98.2	99.4
A-15	2,786	2,069	91.3	91.6	1.5	0.9	89.8	90.6
A-16	3,613	1,995	58.6	61.7	11.6	7.7	46.9	54.0
A-17	3,516	1,888	21.8	19.3	2.1	0.2	19.7	18.8
A-18	4,728	4,032	0.8	2.7	0.0	0.1	0.7	2.6
A-19	3,738	3,469	0.8	3.2	0.1	0.2	0.6	2.9
A-20	5,927	5,325	1.0	2.4	0.1	0.1	0.8	2.3
A-21	6,738	6,065	0.8	1.9	0.2	0.0	0.6	1.8
A-22	4,599	4,841	1.6	4.1	0.1	1.2	1.5	2.9
A-23	5,899	4,887	1.6	3.1	0.4	0.3	1.1	2.8
B-1	6,757	5,632	0.6	3.2	0.2	1.7	0.3	1.5
B-2	4,860	4,325	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.5
B-3	5,831	5,117	1.4	2.1	0.4	0.2	0.9	1.8
B-4	7,406	6,571	1.6	1.9	0.7	0.4	0.8	1.5
B-5	5,341	5,040	3.2	4.6	1.5	0.4	1.7	4.2
B-6	6.263	5,842	2.1	1.9	0.5	0.3	1.5	1.6
B-7	5,323	4,970	4.6	2.9	1.2	0.8	3.3	2.1
B-8	6,404	5,733	11.6	17.7	7.0	9.8	4.6	7.9
B-9	5,115	4,560	22.8	32.3	16.9	22.0	5.8	10.0
B-10	4,039	3,136	12.5	15.7	6.9	8.0	5.5	7.7
C-1	4,854	5,764	3.7	12.8	2.1	6.0	1.5	6.7
D-1	4,570	4,627	2.4	13.0	0.5	1.9	1.9	11.1
D-2	5,487	5,231	0.8	8.2	0.2	0.4	0.6	7.7
E-1	2,972	2,995	4.2	3.9	1.8	1.2	2.4	2.6
E-2	3,952	3,971	1.0	7.2	0.3	1.1	0.6	6.1
E-3	7,055	6,745	1.2	10.2	0.4	0.7	0.7	9.5
F-1	365	226	3.8	6.7	2.7	6.1	1.0	1.7
G-1	5,605	5,490	0.6	13.1	0.1	0.9	0.4	12.2
G-2	7,385	7,147	0.4	10.9	0.1	0.9	0.2	10.0

Statistical Table - continued

Tracts	Total population 1950	Total population 1960	Non-white 1950	Non-white 1960	Percentages Negro 1960	Percentages Negro 1960	Non-white, except Negro 1950	Non-white, except Negro 1960
G-3	6,768	6,826	1.1	9.3	0.1	0.3	1.0	8.9
G-4	8,329	8,502	0.9	8.2	0.2	2.1	0.7	6.0
H-1	4,427	4,319	2.0	19.5	0.0	6.4	1.9	13.1
H-2	6,949	6,658	1.1	15.4	0.2	2.0	0.9	13.4
I-2	28	64	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5
J-1	2,681	1,684	10.5	18.7	8.3	6.4	2.2	12.5
J-2	6,137	5,131	63.8	71.7	38.6	43.2	25.1	28.4
J-3	3,822	3,064	61.3	75.8	54.1	65.8	7.1	10.0
J-4	6,174	6,361	29.6	36.3	26.6	29.1	3.0	7.1
J-5a*	8,136	2,659	8.3	9.5	6.4	1.6	1.9	7.7
J-5b		6,044		30.1		22.1		8.0
J-6	6,593	3,388	71.0	77.6	52.3	58.9	18.7	18.6
J-7	10,557	8,722	41.7	75.4	36.8	68.0	4.8	7.4
J-8	7,079	2,074	58.2	75.1	40.5	60.4	17.7	14.6
J-9	3,241	1,528	7.5	15.7	4.6	11.4	2.8	4.2
J-10	7,324	5,492	35.3	64.4	26.2	53.5	9.0	10.8
J-11	4,354	2,851	7.2	20.5	4.6	15.9	2.5	4.5
J-12	5,722	5,017	24.5	59.6	21.1	51.8	3.3	7.7
J-13	4,692	4,262	9.2	44.6	6.7	35.8	2.5	8.8
J-14	6,008	5,696	4.8	34.1	3.2	24.8	1.5	9.3
J-15	6,919	6,434	3.2	23.5	2.6	16.9	0.6	6.5
J-16	6,337	6,069	5.5	47.4	2.9	39.2	2.5	8.1
J-17	8,104	7,291	6.7	33.7	4.7	26.5	2.0	7.2
J-18	4,221	4,063	1.5	10.6	0.9	5.3	0.5	5.3
J-19	3,697	3,532	0.7	3.9	0.1	1.5	0.5	2.4
J-20	9,460	9,389	1.2	20.2	0.2	11.3	0.9	8.9
K-1	10,435	8,237	12.2	16.0	6.8	10.2	5.4	5.7
K-2	8,394	7,072	6.1	12.5	1.9	2.8	4.1	9.6
K-3	7,312	4,979	24.7	44.1	18.2	27.9	6.5	16.1
K-4	2,049	1,402	27.1	50.0	26.8	46.6	0.2	3.3
K-5	53	325	0.0	42.1	0.0	6.1	0.0	36.0
K-6	2,559	2,167	7.7	17.7	6.6	8.9	1.0	8.7
L-1	11,451	12,023	6.0	27.2	4.9	24.1	1.1	3.1
L-2	10,623	10,216	3.8	7.6	1.9	3.6	1.8	4.0
L-3	8,123	9,017	1.4	6.4	0.4	3.2	1.0	3.1
L-4	13,361	10,724	14.7	26.1	12.8	20.8	1.9	5.3
L-5a	38,045	22,117	27.8	69.8	24.5	64.4	3.2	5.3
L-5b		4,831		26.5		21.9		4.5
M-1	2,453	2,861	3.2	16.8	1.3	9.7	1.9	7.0
M-2	5,408	5,674	2.6	8.5	1.5	4.4	1.1	4.0
M-3	4,560	4,457	2.2	8.9	0.4	3.5	1.8	5.4
M-4	8,898	10,274	1.8	12.5	0.8	6.9	1.0	5.5
M-5a	10,708	3,829	0.9	6.3	0.3	1.4	0.6	4.9
M-5b		6,359		2.4		1.0		1.3
M-6	11,854	13,051	1.1	6.1	0.4	2.1	0.6	3.9
M-7	7,410	6,157	0.2	2.4	0.1	0.6	0.1	1.8

Statistical Table - Continued

Tracts	Total population 1950	Total population 1960	Non-white 1950	Non-white 1960	Percentages Negro 1950	Percentages Negro 1960	Percentages Non-white except Negro 1950	Percentages Non-white except Negro 1960
M-8	9,153	9,247	0.4	5.4	0.1	4.4	0.2	1.0
M-9	9,428	7,870	22.3	2.6	21.4	0.4	0.8	2.2
M-10	4,916	7,336	0.8	23.8	0.3	19.3	0.5	4.5
M-11	8,777	9,823	1.8	8.0	0.7	3.7	1.0	4.2
N-1	5,002	4,357	2.3	11.2	0.8	5.1	1.4	6.1
N-2	6,182	5,767	0.4	10.2	0.0	5.1	0.4	5.1
N-3	3,520	3,379	1.4	3.4	0.5	0.7	0.8	2.7
N-4	4,658	5,747	0.5	2.8	0.0	0.6	0.5	2.1
N-5a	6,998	3,134	0.4	2.3	0.1	0.0	0.3	2.3
N-5b		3,417		1.5		0.2		1.3
N-6	6,025	5,592	0.3	4.0	0.1	0.5	0.2	3.4
N-7	5,931	5,768	0.2	3.2	0.0	0.5	0.2	2.7
N-8	5,496	5,115	1.5	7.6	0.1	2.2	1.4	5.4
N-9	4,372	3,814	0.7	4.1	0.2	0.0	0.4	4.1
N-10	5,064	4,918	0.4	4.0	0.0	0.8	0.4	3.1
N-11	5,073	4,977	0.9	3.0	0.0	0.7	0.9	2.3
N-12	7,018	6,907	0.4	2.3	0.1	0.2	0.2	2.0
N-13	2,114	2,035	1.5	2.8	1.1	0.5	0.3	2.2
N-14	6,041	6,060	0.1	1.7	0.1	0.1	0.1	1.6
N-15	6,406	6,699	1.2	4.6	0.2	1.6	0.9	3.0
O-1	8,655	11,408	2.7	6.2	0.4	1.6	2.3	4.6
O-2	7,579	7,693	0.3	2.8	0.1	0.2	0.3	2.5
O-3	11,961	13,067	0.2	2.3	0.0	0.3	0.1	1.9
O-4	8,413	8,320	0.3	0.8	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.6
O-5a	10,356	6,410	0.7	3.2	0.0	2.0	0.6	1.1
O-5b		5,700		3.6		1.2		2.4
O-6	3,457	3,293	0.5	0.6	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3
O-7	7,128	7,571	1.3	1.2	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.6
O-8a	10,188	7,502	3.6	40.1	2.5	34.1	1.0	5.9
O-8b		4,959		59.0		55.0		3.9
O-9	6,211	6,558	6.1	34.8	5.4	30.1	0.6	4.6
P-1	13,824	13,252	0.3	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	1.1
P-2	15,196	15,317	0.1	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	1.0
P-3a	15,518	7,524	0.2	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.9
P-3b		3,659		0.1		0.0		0.0
P-3c		9,641		0.2		0.1		0.1
Q-1a	25,356	15,341	0.3	2.4	0.0	0.4	0.2	2.0
Q-1b		13,684		1.6		0.1		1.4
R-1	127	1,094	7.8	3.1	2.3	2.3	5.5	0.7

* - Several tracts were divided in 1960 Census only.